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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-00	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 261602Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0726
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 001641

E.O. 12356: 20 YEARS
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, RW, MOPS, PREF
SUBJECT: RENEWING UNAMIR'S MANDATE:
THE GOR LINE HOLDS FIRM

REF: STATE 125961

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT

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2. I DELIVERED POINTS REFTTEL TO EMMANUEL GASANA, DIRECTEUR DU CABINET IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, MAY 26. GASANA HAS BEEN THE LEAD GOR NEGOTIATOR IN THE ONGOING TALKS WITH SRSG KHAN ON THE MANDATE ISSUE. ALSO PRESENT WAS MINISTER OF HEALTH COLONEL JOSEPH KARAMERA, A MEMBER OF THE RPF INNER CIRCLE.

3. GASANA EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE TO THE USG FOR THE CLEAR AND TIMELY EXPRESSION OF ITS POSITION ON THE UNAMIR MANDATE, AND FOR THE LEAD ROLE THE US HAS TAKEN AT THE UN ON RWANDA'S BEHALF, ESPECIALLY ON THE PURSUIT AND ARREST OF FUGITIVES SUSPECTED OF GENOCIDE. HE PROMISED THAT HE WOULD CONVEY THE US POSITION AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING DUE TO BEGIN A FEW MINUTES AFTER OUR MEETING, AND TO CONVEY A FORMAL RESPONSE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

4. GASANA SAID UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THERE WOULD/ WOULD BE A UNAMIR PRESENCE IN RWANDA FOR THE NEXT SIX MONTHS. NO ONE, HE SAID, IS SAYING THAT UNAMIR MUST LEAVE TOMORROW. UNAMIR WILL STAY ON, HE SAID, BUT IN A ROLE WHICH THE GOR WILL ASSURE WILL ENABLE UNAMIR TO MAKE A REAL, DEFINABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND TODAY.

HARD LINE

5. HE THEN SAID THAT WHILE SOME OF THE US POINTS WERE INTERESTING, THERE WERE SOME THINGS ON WHICH
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THE GOR WOULD NOT COMPROMISE. THE SECURITY ISSUE, HE SAID, WAS PARAMOUNT, AND UNAMIR WAS NEITHER CONTRIBUTING TO IT NOR WAS IN A POSITION TO CONTRIBUTE. FIRST OF ALL, HE SAID, UNAMIR HAS A TERRIBLE IMAGE WITH THE RWANDAN PEOPLE BECAUSE IT STOOD BACK AND DID NOT PREVENT THE GENOCIDE. SECOND, HE SAID, IT WAS SILLY TO IMAGINE THAT MEN IN BLUE HELMETS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO RECONCILIATION, BECAUSE THEIR PRESENCE IMPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT SAFE TO RETURN. NO MEMBER OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE WILL

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RETURN FROM ABROAD WHILE THE BLUE HELMETS ARE HERE, GASANA SAID, BECAUSE THEY WILL NATURALLY BE UNSURE OF WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN THE BLUE HELMETS EVENTUALLY LEAVE. THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA MUST SHOW THAT IT CAN PROVIDE A SECURITY FRAMEWORK, AND THAT IT WANTS THE RETURN OF ALL RWANDANS FROM WHEREVER THEY MAY BE. THIRD, THE PRESENCE OF IDLE ARMED UNAMIR TROOPS WITHOUT A CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT THEIR JOB IS POSES A DAILY THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE RWANDAN STATE. COLONEL KARAMERA ECHOED THIS POINT, SAYING THAT THERE WAS NOTHING WORSE FOR MILITARY DISCIPLINE THAN TROOPS WITH GUNS AND NOTHING TO DO.

6. GASANA SAID THAT IF UNAMIR WANTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO RECONCILIATION, IT COULD SEND ITS TROOPS ACROSS THE BORDER INTO THE REFUGEE CAMPS, "SEPARATE THE ARMED TERRORISTS FROM THE INNOCENT PEOPLE THEY ARE HOLDING HOSTAGE," AND THUS FACILITATE THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES.

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SOME NGOS CAN STAY

6. IN A SIDEBAR WHILE GASANA WAS OUT OF THE ROOM, I QUERIED COLONEL KARAMERA, WHOSE JOB AS MINISTER OF HEALTH BRINGS HIM INTO DAILY CONTACT WITH THE NGO COMMUNITY, ABOUT THE FUTURE OF NGOS IN RWANDA. HE ALLOWED THAT CERTAIN NGOS WERE DOING REMARKABLE, USEFUL WORK -- HE SINGLED OUT SAMARITAN'S PURSE. WITH OTHERS, THOUGH, KARAMERA SHOOK HIS HEAD AND OBSERVED THAT EVEN HE, THE MINISTER OF HEALTH, CAN'T FIGURE OUT WHAT JOB THEY'RE SUPPOSED TO BE DOING. "THEY SEEM TO DO NOTHING BUT DRIVE AROUND THE COUNTRY IN WHITE TOYOTAS." THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE ROOM IN RWANDA FOR NGOS WHO MAKE A SERIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE, HE SAID.

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7. COMMENT. GASANA WAS EXTREMELY FIRM AND
EXTREMELY FRANK IN HIS DENUNCIATION OF UNAMIR.
KARAMERA, IN OUR SIDEBAR CONVERSATION, COMMENTED
THAT UNAMIR WAS COSTING USD 500,000 A DAY, AND
THERE WAS NO SIGN THAT ANY OF THE MONEY WAS

CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANYTHING EXCEPT
UNAMIR ITSELF. IF THIS IS THE LINE THE GOR HAS

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TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, RW, MOPS, PREF

SUBJECT: RENEWING UNAMIR'S MANDATE:

THE GOR LINE HOLDS FIRM

TAKEN OVER SEVERAL WEEKS (AS I SUSPECT IS THE CASE
SINCE OTHER RPA INTERLOCUTORS HAVE SAID THE SAME TO
THE DATT) WITH SRSG KHAN, KHAN HAS BEEN SUGAR-
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COATING THE MESSAGE HE HAS BEEN PASSING ON TO US.

8. COMMENT CONTINUED. I DO NOT/NOT BELIEVE THAT
IT IS TOO LATE FOR US TO INFLUENCE THE GOR. THEY
REMAIN OPEN TO US, THEY TAKE OUR MESSAGE SERIOUSLY,
THEY VALUE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WE COULD
GAIN LEVERAGE, FOR EXAMPLE, BY TURNING OUR POSITION
ON THE ARMS EMBARGO INTO A HOOK, OFFERING STRONG
SUPPORT FOR THE PARTIAL LIFTING IF THE GOR EASES
ITS POSITION. IF WE BAITED THE HOOK WITH CONCRETE
PROMISES OF SUCH APT NON-LETHAL MILITARY AID AS
UNIFORMS AND TRAINING WE MIGHT FIND A RECEPTIVE
AUDIENCE. WHALEY

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